

ANNUAL DISCOURSE,

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ONLY ONE HUMAN RACE.

BRETHREN: The enemies of the African race are now disarmed by the military power of our government. But the moral conflict still rages, nor will it terminate until a false public sentiment shall equally have been subdued. Let us, then, wield against it this sword of the Spirit, which I find in the old armory on the shelf marked:

ACTS 17: 26: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the bounds of their habitation."

This weapon was first used by our great champion Paul, in his celebrated attack on the Athenian philosophy on Mars' Hill.

It should be remembered that he did not address the sages of Greece as a physiologist, but as a Christian Apostle; teaching not anatomy, but charity. He was not giving his hearers the results of "cadaveric autopsy," when thus declaring the identity of the blood in the human races; but, attacking one of the abominable theories of heathenism; announcing a truth which even the acute Grecian intellect had failed to discern—a truth which confronted two of the fundamental errors of its theology. He announced to that Athenian audience a Creator; one Creator of all men; one God, in whose undivided essence are concentrated all, and infinitely more than all the attributes their theology had divided and distributed among the several deities of the Parthenon. He exhibited man in the sublime relation he occupies as a citizen of God's empire. He exhibited the human race and its unity, not the product of a soil or a country, not an accident; but the child of one Father in heaven. In this he corrected the proud and arrogant theory of the Athenians, that they were Autochthones, sprung from the sacred soil. He declared that all the tribes of men are distributed over the world by one and the same paternal oversight; implying that this was de-

signed, not to divide and alienate the several races, but to promote their common good ; as any patrimony is divided among the children of a family for both their common and their individual benefit. In a word, the Apostle here announces

OUR COMMON MANHOOD.

I now bring it before you, not to advance the boundary of science, nor even to distribute its treasures ; not to communicate a single fact with which you may not be well acquainted. My purpose is entirely practical. And it is on its practical side I now invite you to contemplate this subject. Let us, then, notice in what consists,

I. *The identity of the human race.*—It is strange that any one can have failed to discern the distinguishing endowments of manhood, to mark the definite line that separates man from the inferior races ; or can have questioned whether the difference is in kind or only in degree ; that even scientific men have claimed to find their progenitor in the squash, and themselves to be monkeys minus the tail ; that they have failed to see that a gulf, impassable, lies between man and the most intelligent quadruped. But, strange as it is, we can account for it : it is a necessary consequence of our apostasy from God, that we should be untrue to ourselves. It would be easy to state fifty distinct qualities, properties, and relations monopolized by man. It may, however, suffice our purpose to consider them in a few classes. We notice,

1. *His physical peculiarities.*—While man combines in himself the mineral, vegetable, and animal, he is infinitely superior to them all ; sublimating in his own person all these orders of existence to their loftiest uses ; linking the material to the spiritual, the earthly to the angelical, the mundane to the celestial, the finite to the infinite.

From all the other distinguishing features we select one, and that the hand, as our badge. Whenever you find a class of animals that has not a developed thumb, you find a class that is not human. Mr. Roget says, (*Bridg. Treat. Roget, vol. i. 314.*) “It is only in man that the fore (upper) extremities are exempted from the office of supporting and moving the body, and are at liberty to be applied to other purposes, and employed as instruments of prehension and touch. In the power of executing an infinite variety of movements, and of action requiring either strength, delicacy, or precision, the human arm and hand, considered in their mechanism alone, are structures of unrivaled excellence.”

We may say, then, that whatever by its nature lacks a thumb, that is, a fifth finger coming squarely in front of the other four, face to face, has not the family-badge ; the right blood is not in it. Our human blood always flows through the thumb, because the thumb is

the indispensable instrument of art and civilization. By it we handle the pen, the pencil, the sword, the knife, the ax, the graver, the helm, the rope, the chisel, the trowel, the spade, the organ. Monkeys and dogs may imitate us; but they can not build the Parthenon or sculpture the Apollo, paint the Transfiguration, write the *Æneid*, telegraph thought through space swifter than wind, span the rivers, or navigate the seas.

If any of you, having a facial angle somewhat acute, a cuticle inclined to the sable, have been told that your skin indicates you are not a man, hold up your *thumb*, and silence the slanderer. If your hand is crowned with a fully-developed thumb, go on your way rejoicing; you belong to our family—you are not a gorilla, but a man. If any one ever questions your manhood, show him that you can handle the needle, the pen. Write your name, and ask him: "Am I not a brother?"

If you should meet two objects; one of them using its hands as feet, call that an animal; but the other, walking erect, call it a man, even if its hair should be red or gray, (which is not the classic color,) its skin white, with a tinge of carnation, or even olive, or black.

But we leave the physical, to speak of higher things; to run over an inventory of the family possessions.

2. *The intellectual faculties* distinguish man; some of them absolutely; others, in their combinations and degrees.

Reason is one, including the capacity to recognize spiritual existence. Who believes that a horse or an orang-outang knows what spirit is? Reason is the foundation of general knowledge and of reasoning, because by it we intuitively believe first principles or axioms. By it we recognize the Infinite.

Reasoning is another, or the discursive faculty by which one proposition is proved by other propositions. Judgment is another; by which testimony is weighed, by which comparisons are made. It is the faculty that uses the words long, beautiful, deformed, and all other adjectives and epithets.

Imagination, or the power of intellectual creation, by which a poem or pleasure-garden is constructed. Abstraction and generalization, by which we classify objects and persons.

Memory we share with some brutes, but in such form and degree as to make it, in reality, another faculty. Man remembers dates, processes of reasoning, events, history, poetry. Foresight is feebly manifested in some brutes and insects; but in man, it is the capacity of deriving motives to action, from his endless future.

Articulate language, with all its beauty and power, is an endowment totally human, however brutes may utter their sentiments in the coarse sounds of the barnyard, or the song of the mocking-bird.

Artificial language is another distinction of the human race, in both the peculiar and exquisite organs which produce it, and which appreciate it, and in the mind that employs it. And some of these languages are found, among the ruder tribes of Africa and America, evincing a refinement of thought which ill accords with the present condition of the people there.

3. *The moral faculties characterize Man.*—He has a conscience or moral sense; not only distinguishing right from wrong, but appreciating moral beauty and deformity; judging character; estimating actions by motives; anticipating the scrutiny of the final judgment, and its awards. Man is also distinguished by

4. *His social qualities.*—Many animals are gregarious. Bees and ants form organized companies, but man alone can make what man would call society, with its thousand delicate relations, its vast ramifications, its broad and various play of intellectual and moral forces. Man adds to these,

5. *The capacity for boundless progress.*—Isaac Newton can lie in his cradle a helpless infant, having not an idea in his mind. He can grow into an intellectual stature that is gigantic. Our Saxon ancestors were barbarians; their descendants have made vast advances beyond their condition.

You meet a Feejean, and are puzzled by him, not knowing whether he is a brute or a man. Bring him and his child and his young horse to a Christian family in America; try to educate both the colt and the boy, and see whether the Creator has not drawn an eternal cordon of separation between the lowest specimen of the human races and the highest of the brutes, in this exhaustless capacity for improvement. Man is also distinguished by

6. *His relations to God and the Universe.*—He is a child of God, made for the moral government of God. As one has said of the stars, we may say of the animals: "God never gave them the ten commandments." The horse, the ape, or the elephant, can never say to God, "Abba, Father." A day of judgment is not revealed to the animals, with an eternity of retribution beyond it—this is the prerogative of man. Love to God is his privilege; it is the attainment of the good, possible to all men.

Man is a religious being. He may worship a stone or a crocodile; it is still the religious sentiment working outward. What we call superstition may be considered part of the religion of man; as the Bassoutos of Africa beautifully express it—superstition is a truth turned into a false track.

You never find a monkey worshiping any thing. Then, also,

7. *Man's relations to nature distinguish him.*—Man is the lord of creation. He can subdue the forces of nature; he can make all

the inferior races subordinate and serviceable. No matter what the color of his skin or the angle of his forehead, he can build a ship, and call it the Great Eastern; he can make a compass, and steer a ship by it at night, away from Sumter, the rebel fortress, to a loyal fleet; he can level mountains, and raise up valleys; dry up marshes, bridge over rivers, and make a railroad or a telegraph to span a continent.

The original command to him was: "Replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth."

That was the original enfeoffment of the race, the deed of grant by which man obtained the fee-simple of this vast estate. This was the act of royalty endowing man with lordship and authority, with right to enter and use this whole portion of God's domains for his own purposes. And wherever you find a being that can read, or be taught to read and understand that title-deed, and use these rights, you find a man.

And I would now mention but one other distinctive feature of manhood:

8. *God's peculiar treatment of Man.*—On this point we can ask no leave of material science, but take the inspired book for our guide, and affirm several facts. All the generations of men, for the last four thousand years, were saved in the same ark, from the flood that drowned a world. Every genealogical record, to be complete, must begin with Noah. Every genealogical tree has its roots in that ark. We all meet there around the one family altar; kings, beggars, House of Hapsburg, cannibal of the South Sea, Wade Hampton, and Pompey. And again, when God would save the world His Son, took on Him our common nature. He became a Jew, but that was incidental; the essential fact is, he became a man. Whenever, then, you find a man, you find a being whose nature the Son of God has taken into eternal unity with Deity. This is the crown that adorns the brow of every member of our race. God has recognized no distinction there. His Son assumed the nature of neither animal nor angel, but man. Then again in consequence of this, the Gospel is God's offer to all men, of eternal life, on the same conditions: Believe, and thou art saved. Whoever can believe in Christ must be a man. There are not two kinds of pardon, one for a rich man and another for a poor man; two crosses; two fountains for the cleansing of the soul; two gates and two narrow paths to heaven; two Bibles; two mercy-seats; two Saviours; one heaven for the white man and another for the black man. One, one, one; all through time, all through eternity. "One Lord, one faith, one baptism." God hath made, not of two, or ten, but of one blood, all nations of men. And

he has carried the same unity through his method of salvation. But it is demanded: do not

DIVERSITIES EXIST ?

They do. I understand them to be of three kinds: differences in the bony structure; in certain superficial secretions; in the temperament. So far as I am informed, this difference, however, does not extend to a single vital organ, or to the composition or functions of the brain, to a degree that necessitates an essential inferiority in any branch of the race. But, what is vital to our purpose, these diversities leave intact every one of those distinguishing features of manhood which I have now been enumerating and describing.

These diversities evidently were not designed to promote pride in one part of the race, and a degrading sense of inferiority in another, any more than the delicacy of woman in contrast with the robustness of man was designed for this end. They are a part of the beneficent plan of God, by which men are adapted to obey the law of mutual love, and for the promotion of our common benefit. Their principal design seems to have been to secure the religious development of mankind; one race excelling in the sentimental adaptation to religion, the other, in the intellectual; one, imparting; another, receiving, making superiority of endowment in races, as in a single family, promote the benevolence of the stronger, and the grateful dependence of the weaker.

But before leaving this part of our subject, permit me to offer my salutations to physiological science, especially to such of its representatives as have labored to demonstrate the plurality of species in the human race.

Men of material science, why should you and the men of faith ever oppose each other? The ends you seek are entirely harmonious, though diverse, and reached by different processes. Both aim at elevating man; one, by employing and expanding the intellect; the other, by employing the moral faculty. The one gets at facts by believing its material senses and the testimony of man; the other, by believing its moral sense and the testimony of God. The one advances the material interests of man; the other, his moral, social, and immortal welfare.

Do not indulge the vain fancy that science can look down on Scripture; that the dissecting-room is essentially a better place or a more attractive place, than the sanctuary; that the scholar stands on any firmer foundation than the saint. Both are mere interpreters of a book; each has his Scripture, from whence all his particular knowledge is derived. Neither invents the facts of his creed, neither invents the ultimate and eternal principles which lie at the root of all

he believes. Both *find* them, and believe them as they find them, whether revealed by words, or by stars and stones. Faith is as much a human faculty as sight or reasoning, and no more liable to deceive us than they.

Nay, if you urge us to the comparison, we shall go still farther, and say there is a nobler science than that of material forms and forces; a science standing on higher ground than yours, employing nobler faculties, handling loftier themes, effecting an infinitely higher good than yours.

We may live harmoniously together, but we have no fears of a contest, except that it wastes strength, disturbs good fellowship, and diverts many from more useful pursuits.

Let science and faith recognize their peculiar and coördinate spheres, and accord each other a full measure of respect. Legitimately they have no quarrel with each other. For instance, science does not contradict this doctrine of Paul. Science says she finds the pigments in the skin of the African, the Mongolian, and the Caucasian races to differ from each other. Paul says nothing to the contrary. He does not affirm that God made all men with the same coloring matter under the skin. It is not the pigments of which he here says one word. It is the blood of men of which he affirms identity or unity. Science says she can trace every race of men back to certain habitats or places of their original dwelling. Very well; be it so. Scripture affirms nothing contrary to that, but distinctly admits that there is a habitat for each race, and affirms that God made each nation to dwell in its own. It does not affirm that God made every nation inhabit the same country. It affirms identity only of the blood, and affirms that the race made of one blood were to dwell all over the face of the earth.

While, as before remarked, the Apostle was not lecturing on anatomy to the philosophers of Athens, but on moral and religious principles, and therefore used the word blood in its figurative sense, yet even if Scripture, in this affirmation, had employed it literally, science could not contradict the affirmation. Man of science, have you found that people whose blood lacks a single essential property of human blood, be it structural, chemical or vital! The osseous structure, the coloring matter, the hair, may vary from your ideal standard; but the blood literally, perhaps, certainly as used in a moral sense, is identical in us all.

Does science affirm that every tribe originally had its distinct habitat? We must set that down as mere affirmation, and we shall confidently set the positive testimony of God against her crude analogies.

Having then noticed the essential and distinguishing characteristics of a human being, let us now proceed to consider,

II. *What rights and prerogatives are conferred by our common manhood, and what duties and responsibilities it imposes.*

God has made nations and individual men, like all his other works, in such a way as to avoid monotony; incessant variety characterizing those most alike and most intimately allied. But on man, everywhere and forever, he has conferred certain indefeasible and inalienable rights; the great prerogatives of manhood, which it is sacrilege to violate, which are defended by the eternal justice, with its fiery, two-edged sword.

It has often been remarked that man and society can never rise above a semi-barbarism, so long as woman, the weaker sex, is treated unfairly and unkindly by the stronger sex. And it is true. But it is equally true in regard to the weaker members and branches of our race.

Let us, then, look for the rights and obligations of manhood:

1. *Self-respect* is the first of duties, never to be confounded with pride or self-conceit. Self-respect is the homage due to the nature and endowments conferred on us by a bounteous Creator, perfectly consistent with the profoundest humility, which has reference to the weaker side of our nature, and our moral delinquencies. The negro is bound to respect the manhood that is in him. It is noble, beautiful, grand. His mind, his moral nature, is as noble as Gabriel's; inferior, not in kind, only in degree. And woe to him that attempts to diminish that self-respect in any negro!

2. *Mutual respect.*—Reverence is a duty toward God; reverence for him, and for every thing that is stamped with his image. You may chastise a child, not contemptuously, not vengefully, but with a reverential regard for his immortal nature, and a reverential remembrance of his relations to God and the universe, his rank in the scale of being.

3. *Justice is claimed by our manhood.*—Brutes have no such claim on one another, nor on man. Mercy or compassion, and a patronizing affection is all that is due to them. But he who bears the stamp of manhood, can claim of every other man justice; and if man denies it, the appeal of the injured, though rejected in every earthly court, will be heard on high.

Our revolutionary fathers appear to have been more profoundly versed in political science than we. In their wisdom, they uttered this oracle: Amongst the inalienable rights of man, conferred, not by human authority, but by the infinite Creator, are these—life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness.

All men have a right to life; a right never forfeited by birth under

any circumstances, by color of the skin or shape of the bones; but only by personal crime of the highest order. No legislation, no biblical exegesis, no sanction of the Church, no usage or public sentiment can make it other than a crime in the sight of Heaven, to diminish the length of a human life intentionally, or by indifference or carelessness.

Liberty is the right of man, to be abridged only by the restrictions of God's law, never by the demands of selfishness.

The pursuit of happiness is a prerogative of manhood. Any restriction placed on that, in any individual, for the benefit of another individual, or any class, without the free consent of the person thus prevented, is a crime, however sanctioned.

4. *Love is the claim of every human being.*—The law that binds every man to love his neighbor as himself, at the same time gives him a claim on the love of every other human being. No human tribunal can enforce it; but it will be solemnly, thoroughly enforced by a divine tribunal. Neither a man nor a nation can entertain wrong feelings, or withhold right feelings, with impunity. On the cultivation of delicate sensibility, a high-toned sense of justice, and appreciation of the rights and good qualities of others, depend both personal and national character.

We may build up a form of character that shall pass current as the world now is—yea a piety that men will acknowledge—even what will be regarded as a high civilization, which shall include a profound, cruel prejudice, or a cruel indifference to the welfare of a portion of our race; but it will be a piety, a civilization God does not approve. A religion that does not recognize the moral unity of the human race can not be Christ's religion. We have, in fact, been contending with embattled hosts on this very point, whether the Christianity of this continent shall be a baptized Paganism; whether it shall resemble Russia, as she once was, is now no longer, of which one thus writes: "On all its broad plains, on the daily life of that serf-owning aristocracy, on the whole class which is neither of serfs nor serf-owners, the curse of God is written in letters so big and black that all mankind may read them."

We may not safely leave out of our benevolent consideration, by design, with positive intention, by accepted principles of politics or morals, any part of the human race. We owe love to every man; a love that, while admitting of intensity within a limited circle of kindred, friends, and countrymen, admits of no such thing as contempt for natural endowments, disregard of the most precious rights, or indifference to the highest welfare of any human being.

Have we not all one Father? God hath made us all, and all of one blood.

And these are the directions he has given as concerning one another: "Be ye kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love; in honor preferring one another." He says we are members of Christ's body; and must therefore feel toward each other the respect and love which becomes so sublime a relation. He says: "If one member suffer, all suffer with it." That is the case with every healthy body. His servant, Paul, expresses his will when he says: "We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves. Let every one of us please his neighbor, for his good to edification."

In fact, the moment you admit that the negro is a man, you admit that American Christianity has been very unbiblical.

O my countrymen! suffer me to remonstrate with you. My plea, if you will hear it, is strong, for it is eternal truth. I plead,

1. *For God's honor*; for his image defiled, distorted, effaced, despised by you. "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness. So God created man in his own likeness, in the image of God created he him." How will you answer to him, if his image is in the body, when his African children bring their lacerated, maimed bodies, their visages imbruted by the life of intellectual and moral degradation to which you bound them with all the power of a mighty empire? If that image is in the spirit, how dare you despise it, wherever it is found? If God is represented, as every father is, by each of his children, do you not know that a parent's sensitiveness about his children's honor is as great as that which respects his own? This is one of his dreadful indictments recorded for the great day of assizes: "Ye have despised the poor!" Negro's blood has been shed on this soil, in this city, as if he were a brute. But the sentence of Jehovah is: "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made he him."

I plead with you again by,

2. *The redemption-work of Christ*. That work, beginning at the manger, and ending in the sepulcher, was the expression of love; love higher than heaven, deeper than hell, stronger than sin or death or justice; but love of which you and the negro alike partake, and equally. If you stand at the foot of the cross, to have that cleansing blood fall upon your soul, there will probably be a negro by your side. If you go to the mercy-seat at any hour, you will probably find two there to one of your own complexion. If you go to heaven, you will certainly meet an immense multitude of them there; and you will find your color not worth much there. Love the people with whom you are to spend eternal ages in the same family, sharing every honor and favor with you.

I plead with you, by

3. *Your nation's honor.* The public sentiment of this country, for fifty years, in respect to the African race, has been an immeasurable disgrace to us.

Look at this intelligent people, enjoying the blessings of the freest government on earth, prospered of God beyond any other people, claiming to have a more living and efficient religious character than any other; yet overlooking the essential elements of manhood in an entire group of races, making some superficial differences from the prevalent color and form of the body a ground of contempt, of oppression, of injustice and cruelty, such as never disgraced pagan Rome!

We have, indeed, some pleas and palliations. "The negroes are not agreeable in their persons and habits." This is equally true of some white people; but who ever thought of making it a ground of excommunicating entire white races from their respect and sympathy! Should one object to a person of that race, because he was not well-attired, or cleanly, or intelligent, we should not consider it a prejudice. But this we regard as prejudice: to take an entire branch of the human family, and by one turn of thought settle the proposition, that they are not to be regarded as human; and settle the purpose to treat them as something below the human race. But do we not know that a prejudice is a personal deformity? When the people of the Southern States determined to regard the negro, and even the whitest mulatto, as made for slavery, for the mere purpose of ministering to the comfort, profit, luxury, and pride of another race, they lowered themselves as philosophers, as Christians, as men.

It has been affirmed that the people of the Northern States have more prejudice against the African race than the slaveholders. This is one of many illusions connected with this subject. There is a difference, and it is found here. The Southerner had settled this point beyond question—the negro is not a man. Now, so long as that is held as an axiom, unquestioned by either party, the negro and the dog will receive the same kind treatment. But the moment the negro asserts any rights that the master is bound to respect, as soon as he claims to be a man, it will be found that it was not as such the master esteemed or respected him. See whether, even yet, the people of those States are willing to allow the negro to choose his rulers, even though he may prove himself as well qualified for the service as the majority of voters; whether they are willing to make personal qualifications, and not race, the test of the right of suffrage. Beside the unfounded prejudices toward this unfortunate race, we are guilty of injustice gross and flagrant.

Let me farther suggest

4. *The nation's welfare*, as well as its honor. We must remember

that nations are on probation as well as men; that they are under moral as well as material laws; that we must have been losing immeasurably in these dark years of prejudice, injustice, and cruelty. Four millions of Africans, cultivated, refined, among us, would have made the Southern States like another world. There would have been no millions of white trash; no bowie-knife, bullying, blustering, treason-breeding civilization.

No, it will not do for a great nation to settle questions about the negro merely by taste and preference, by convenience and custom, by even policy and expediency. Eternal principles are involved in it. God's eternal government takes cognizance of this subject in all its dimensions and ramifications.

The question before us now is, as it ever has been, What is right?

We surely have learned one lesson at great cost. It will not answer for a Christian people to put a leprous stone in the very foundation of their great temple. It will infect the whole; and at last require to be taken down, that the infected parts may be cast away.

War was sent, with its rough hand, to tear it down, while the envious nations sat and mocked the misery of our condition.

Shall we build so again? The demon is exorcised; but he is wandering about in dry places seeking rest, and finding none. If he returns, he will bring with him seven other spirits worse than the first.

Can we afford to enter on another epoch of our history with our old notions and habits unchanged? Have we learned nothing by such a war? Is it not manifest that God has forgiven our old sins, and put us on probation once more?

If the black man or the Indian has intelligence enough to vote, let him vote for his rulers; if to make laws, let him make them. If he earns wages, pay him. If he can not hold his own in a fair race, let him come out second best. That is fair.

But did Thomas Jefferson tremble for his country in view of the justice of Almighty God? how, then, would he feel now, after the judgments we have witnessed and felt, in view of the desperate pride and prejudice of the men in the North and the South, who are still determined to treat the negro as a brute, and carry our country directly back over the same career of cruelty, selfishness, and injustice toward this unhappy race!

We urge again

5. *The rights of the injured African.*—What we insist upon is not a political theory, but an eternal moral principle. The negro's rights are given him by his and our God. He has a right to claim our esteem as a man, his rewards for labor and service, his choice of employment and employer, his choice of a companion for life, and the

full protection of the law for his family, as much as any other husband or father.

But we have deprived him of a fair chance in life's great race. For him we have held as naught the filial relation incorporated in the Fifth Commandment; the family, one of God's most precious bestowments. Nay, the very laws of the States have decreed that the negro shall no more have a family than the cattle have.

Now, every degree of this wickedness must be swept from our land.

I am not here to beg any favors for my African brother. I simply assert his rights, and proclaim the enormous wrong we have done him, and are exposed to continue inflicting on him, after all the terrible judgments of God. I would neither pet nor flatter him. Respect for his manhood forbids both. If you meet a negro who is mean, despise his meanness, but not his manhood. If he commits a crime, punish him; but deprive him of no right simply because of his color. Abandon the prejudice which is as galling to the manly heart of a negro as to yours.

I urge, then, my plea but once more. I present to you as an individual the consideration of

6. *Your own welfare.*—Is yours a prejudice only against this people? For your own sake, abandon it. It contracts the soul, and it hinders you from taking the right position in regard to them. It causes you to miss some precious opportunities of standing for the right, of resisting tyranny, of comforting Christ's poor.

If you are a master, then note the fifth chapter of James, which it would seem as if you had never read, and your preachers had never explained:

"Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted and your garments are moth-eaten. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days. Behold, the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth."

My brethren of the Missionary Association, we surely have a work to do. We are to do our part in forming a correct public sentiment. That is the sovereign in this land, before whom nothing can stand. Assert the manhood of the negro; make it appear as horrible to defraud him as to defraud a white man of his rights; to inflict on him penalties for being what his Creator intended him to be; to make him the mere tool of another's selfishness; to discourage his reaching the highest attainments and position he is capable of reaching and attaining. Insist on the prin-

ciple, no matter who is to enforce it, the General or the State government, that nationality and color shall not be the test of the right to elect our rulers, to testify in our courts, to sue before them, and if a native, to be chosen to sit in the presidential chair. In a word, every human being shall, on this part of God's earth, stand on a perfect level with every other man before the law. Caste-legislation shall no longer dishonor us and mar the beautiful simplicity of our democratic government.

We must educate the race, first for the ordinary intercourse and employments of life, just as the mass of white children are educated. And to the most capable, every avenue of knowledge must be opened, every instrument of mental discipline and culture furnished.

We must preach the Gospel to them in its purity, in its simplicity, and save as many of their precious souls as, by God's blessing, we may.

We must assist in establishing them. Poor people, on what a tempest-tossed sea their miserable bark has been for four years! And that tempest has at last cast them, shattered and broken, on a shore from which many of them will be swept back, unless rescued by us into, I can not conceive what kind of a troubled ocean. The storm of prejudice, pride, passion, is almost certain to beat on some of them until they find the last haven where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest. We can not do every thing. Let us do what we can to fix each family in a home, with the ægis of the law over his dwelling and his little farm, teaching them that which slavery has prevented their learning, of industry, mechanic trades, farming, gardening, housekeeping, training children; teaching them our national history, what an American citizen ought to be, and what his rights are; teaching the negro he is a man, and showing him what is becoming to a man, in reference to himself, his God, his neighbor, his country, his posterity.

The record of our four years of war is now made. We can take no backward step. But the record of the four years succeeding the war is now forming, day by day, hour by hour. God, in his infinite mercy, grant it may be such as will make some amends for the dark passages in our former history, and place us before the world as God's instruments in bringing on this day of universal brotherhood.